

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 02424

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MNUC
SUBJECT: ALLIED POSITION ON ERW PROPOSAL

1. AS WE SUGGESTED BY SEPTTEL ON OUR DISCUSSION WITH
THE DUTCH CHARGE, LUNS AND OTHERS, WE BELIEVE THE UNITED
STATES SHOULD PROMPTLY CONSULT BILATERALLY WITH THE ALLIES
REGARDING THE SUMMING-UP STATEMENT THE US WOULD LIKE TO
SEE ACCEPTED AT THE MARCH 20 AND 22 OR 23 MEETINGS
ON THE ERW PROPOSAL.

2. WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING STEPS COULD HELP PROMOTE
A CLEAR AND SATISFACTORY OUTCOME:

(A) THE US SHOULD PREPARE AND PROVIDE BILATERALLY
IN ALLIED CAPITALS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A "SUMMING-UP
STATEMENT" THAT THE US WOULD LIKE TO SEE ACCEPTED AT
THE MARCH 22/23 MEETING. (SUGGESTED TEXT BELOW).

(B) IN PROVIDING THE STATEMENT, THE US WOULD INFORM
THE ALLIES THAT THE US WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ALLIED
REACTIONS TO IT AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING. US HOPES
THE ALLIES COULD INDICATE AT THAT TIME THAT THEY WILL
BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS STATEMENT AT THE MARCH 22/23
MEETING. THE US WOULD ALSO WORK TO LINE UP AS

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MANY ALLIES AS POSSIBLE WHO HAVE 8-INCH AND LANCE TO
ACCEPT ERW DEPLOYMENT "WITH THEIR FORCES."

3. RECOGNIZING THE LIKELIHOOD THE SCANDINAVIANS AND
DUTCH WILL WANT TO GO ON RECORD REGARDING THEIR
PARTICULAR SITUATIONS, THE US WOULD ALSO, IN
PRESENTING THE SUMMING-UP STATEMENT, SAY WE HAVE NO

OBJECTION TO ALLIES PREPARING NATIONAL STATEMENTS, WHICH THEY MIGHT PLAN TO USE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS AFTER THE MARCH 22/23 MEETING. WE WOULD HOWEVER EXPECT ALLIES TO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING. THE US WOULD STATE THAT IT WOULD ALSO PRESENT ITS NATIONAL STATEMENT, IF IT DEVELOPS ONE, AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING. IF POSSIBLE, THE US SHOULD PROVIDE THE ALLIES ANY INTENDED US NATIONAL STATEMENT WHEN THIS BILATERAL DEMARCHE IS MADE.

4. WE BELIEVE LUNS WILL BE WILLING TO SUPPORT STEPS THE US MIGHT DECIDE TO TAKE TO THIS END. WE RECOMMEND THAT WHEN BILATERAL APPROACHES ARE MADE IN CAPITALS, WE ALSO PROVIDE THE FULL SCENARIO AND THE SUGGESTED TEXT TO LUNS. WE SHOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE SCENARIO, AND IF NECESSARY, THE TEXT WITH PERMREPS HERE, SHOULD THEY APPROACH US OR RAISE THE MATTER AT LUNCH. HOWEVER, WE WOULD NOT PLAN TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE ON CONSULTATIONS WITH PERMREPS TO AVOID COMPLICATING BILATERAL APPROACHES IN CAPITALS.

5. THE SUGGESTED SUMMING-UP STATEMENT AT THE MARCH 22 NAC SESSION WOULD:

- NOTE THAT THE ALLIES HAD REVIEWED THE CURRENT NATO-WARSAW PACT MILITARY BALANCE;
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- EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN NATO'S ABILITY TO RESPOND TO ANY LEVEL OF THREAT AND REAFFIRM NATO'S COMMITMENT TO CONTINUING MODERNIZATION OF ITS FORCES;

- TAKE NOTE THAT THE US HAS DECIDED TO PRODUCE THE ERW FOR LANCE AND WEAPONS, AND STRESS US INTENTION, WITH ALLIED SUPPORT, TO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT TO FOREGO THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS-20 IRBM IN EXCHANGE FOR US AGREEMENT TO FOREGO ERW DEPLOYMENT.

7. TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF DUTCH AND SCANDINAVIAN CONCERNS, WE SUGGEST THAT THE BOTTOM LINE OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT READ AS FOLLOWS:

- BEGIN TEXT: IT WAS THE SENSE OF THE MEETING THAT, IF THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THIS ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL, THE US AND OTHER ALLIES WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROCEED WITH ERW DEPLOYMENT. END TEXT.
THIS FORMULATION WOULD PERMIT THOSE ALLIES

WHO ARE UNABLE TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH AN
ERW DEPLOYMENT DECISION TO DISTINGUISH THEIR
POSITIONS THROUGH PREVIOUSLY COORDINATED NATIONAL
STATEMENTS. THE DUTCH, AND POSSIBLY ONE OR TWO OTHERS,
MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THIS FORMULATION.
NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK THE US SHOULD START WITH THIS
SUGGESTION AND, AS A FIRST FALLBACK, ACCEPT THE
BOTTOM LINE WITH THE WORDS "THE ALLIES TOOK NOTE THAT"
IN PLACE OF "IT WAS THE SENSE OF THE MEETING THAT."

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WHILE THE DUTCH MAY PRESS FOR AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF
THE DISTINCTIVE DUTCH POSITION IN THE SUMMING UP, WE
BELIEVE THE US SHOULD ACCEPT THAT OUTCOME ONLY IN THE
LAST RESORT AND SHOULD PRESS FOR THE DUTCH, AND OTHERS
WHO FEEL THAT THEY MUST DO SO, TO PROTECT THEIR
POSITIONS THROUGH UNILATERAL STATEMENTS OF EXPLANATION.
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